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Continental Union
Association of Ontario

Continental union

Toronto

1893

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CONTINENTAL UNION

A SHORT STUDY

OF

ITS ECONOMIC SIDE

CANCELLED

By constitutional means, involving the consent of the Mother Country, to bring about the union, on fair and honorable terms, of Canada and the United States.—*Platform of the Association.*

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ISSUED BY
THE CONTINENTAL UNION ASSOCIATION OF ONTARIO,
MAY, 1893

1861
20/6/93

Toronto:
PRINTED BY HUNTER, ROSE & COMPANY,
1893.

INTRODUCTION.

It is said that we must not dare to discuss the question of Continental Union because we should be breaking the bond which connects us with the Mother Country. The bond of the heart it is to be hoped we shall never break. That bond is natural, not artificial or dependent on political arrangements. It would be confirmed, not weakened, by the dissolution of the political tie because there would be an end of all possibilities of disagreement. It would not be less cherished by the mass of our people though there might be no longer a Governor-General to serve out champagne to a few members of Parliament and officials at Ottawa, or any baronetcies and knighthoods to turn into sham aristocrats a few of our millionaires or politicians. Of what use is the political tie either to the Mother Country or to us? It brings the Mother Country no gain. It can bring her no military strength, for if British Canada would contribute to imperial armaments French Canada would not. It is always leading her into dangerous disputes about the North Atlantic Fisheries, Behring Sea or some other Canadian question with the United States. On the other hand, it may any day involve Canada in a British dispute perhaps about the Egyptian question, the South African question, or the East Indian question, and our trade may be cut up in a quarrel with which we have nothing to do. Great Britain cannot undertake nor does she pretend that she can undertake the defence of a dependency so distant; in the present state of maritime circumstances her navy would have enough to do to defend her own coasts, and it is well understood that if war broke out she would

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have to withdraw even the small force she has in Canada to save it from capture. To talk of her guiding us politically is absurd when our people are on the average fully as intelligent as hers, and not one Englishman in ten thousand knows anything about our affairs. Her leading statesmen and her chief organs of opinion have always told us that though they prize our attachment and do not wish to thrust us from their door, we have free leave to depart whenever we think fit and without any breach of affection on either side. Independence would sever us politically from England just as much as Continental Union, yet it is anticipated with complacency by one so attached to Great Britain as Sir Oliver Mowat. If we can ever help the Mother Country at all politically it will be by our influence as citizens of the American Republic on the policy of the great power of this continent. There is nothing, then, in our relation with the Mother Country or in our duty towards her to prevent our considering the question of Continental Union with regard to our own interest, which from a commercial point of view is that of the Mother Country also, since her large Canadian investments would gain in value like all our own property by the change.

2.—English Opinion.

The statesmen of England have always looked forward to the separation of Canada from the Mother Country as an event sure to occur. They are well aware that a time must arrive when we shall have to go our own way, just as a son come to years of discretion leaves his father's house to plunge into "the world and wave of men." In a speech in the English House of Commons on the British North America Act, (Professor Thorold Rogers' collection of his speeches), John Bright said:—"For my share, I want the population of these provinces to do that which they believe best for their own interests—to remain with this country, if they like it, in the most friendly manner, or to become independent States if they wish it; if they should prefer to unite themselves with the United States I should not complain even of that." This is the keynote of all the utterances from England, namely, that whilst sentiment may be a powerful influence to the contrary, the consideration which must ultimately prevail in a colony is consideration for its own material well-being. Mr. Gladstone ("England's Mission," *Nineteenth Century*, 1878), says of the colonies that, "it is the welfare of those communities which forms the great object of interest and desire" amongst Liberals; hence, "if the day should ever come when in their own view that welfare would be best promoted by their administrative emancipation, then and then only the Liberal mind of England would at once say, Let them flourish to the uttermost, and if their highest welfare requires their severance we prefer their amicable independence to their constrained subordination." The late Lord Sherbrooke (Mr. Robert Lowe) in an article about the same time in the *Fortnightly Review* on the value to the United Kingdom of the colonies, said:—"It is not natural that nations which are destined probably in the lifetime of some persons now in existence to become more populous than our own, should submit to be forever in a state of tutelage. Our wisdom is to defer the change as long as possible, and when it does come to throw no captious obstacles in the way, but to console ourselves by the reflection that the experience of a hundred years ago shows us that it is very easy to exaggerate the mischiefs that arise from such a separation." This is a reference to British trade with the United States which in spite of hostile tariffs has reached a volume that no one could have anticipated in the colonial days. Lord Blachford (*Nineteenth Century*, 1878) said in an article on Imperial Federation, a scheme which he deems impracticable:—"There is a period in

the life of distant nations, however close their original connection, at which each must pursue its own course, whether in domestic or foreign politics, unembarrassed by the other's leading. And the arrival of that period depends upon growth. Every increase of colonial wealth, or numbers, or intelligence, or organization, is in one sense a step towards disintegration. The Confederation of Canada was therefore such a step."

All three, it will be seen, adopt Mr. Bright's view that the colonies should and will take the course best adapted to promote their own welfare. These men were not "traitors." Mr. Gladstone is premier of England to-day, Mr. Bright and Lord Sherbrooke were members of the Cabinet, Lord Blachford was permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies. Common sense tells us that a colony which, if we can conceive such foolishness, should run counter for any length of time to its own material interests for the sake of a sentimental attachment would lose population, be shunned by the investor, become a prey to discontent and probably at last cut loose in a rage from the parent State. The Liberals are not the only Englishmen who look with philosophical resignation to a change in the colonial relation. In his "Memoirs of an Ex-Minister," Lord Malmesbury prints a letter from Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, urging his Secretary of Foreign Affairs to push the Canadian fisheries question to a settlement whilst the situation at Washington is favorable, and remarking that "these wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks." Mr. Disraeli evidently agreed at bottom with Cobden, Bright, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Sir Henry Taylor, and other leading men who were not able to see what advantage Britain derived from the possession of Canada, though keenly alive to the disadvantages of the connection to both.

Cobden visited Canada and the United States more than once, and when the Confederation Act was on the stocks wrote as follows to a friend here (Life of Cobden by John Morley):—"I cannot see what substantial interest the British people have in the connection to compensate them for guaranteeing three or four millions of North Americans living in Canada against another community of Americans living in their neighborhood. We are told indeed of the loyalty of the Canadians, but this is an ironical term to apply to people who neither pay our taxes, nor obey our laws, nor hold themselves liable to fight our battles, who would repudiate our right to the sovereignty over an acre of their territory, and who claim the right of imposing their own customs duties even to the exclusion of our manufactures. We are two peoples to all intents and purposes, and it is a perilous delusion

to both parties to attempt to keep up a sham connection and dependence, which will snap asunder if it should ever be put to the strain of stern reality. It is all very well for our Cockney newspapers to talk of defending Canada at all hazards. It would be just as possible for the United States to sustain Yorkshire in a war with England as for us to enable Canada to contend against the United States. It is simply an impossibility. Nor must we forget that the only serious danger of a quarrel between the two neighbors arises from the connection of Canada with this country. In my opinion, it is for the interest of both that we should, as speedily as possible, sever the political thread by which we are as communities connected, and leave the individuals on both sides to cultivate the relations of commerce and friendly intercourse as with other nations. I have felt an interest in this Confederation scheme because I thought it was a step in the direction of an amicable separation. I am afraid from the last telegrams that there may be a difficulty either in your province or in Lower Canada in carrying out the project. Whatever may be the wish of the colonies will meet with the concurrence of our Government and Parliament. We have recognized their right to control their own fate even to the point of asserting their independence whenever they think fit, and which we know to be only a question of time." Since Cobden's day, our tariff, then for revenue only, has been transformed into a high protective tariff, British goods in the bulk paying a larger amount of duty than American goods because they are principally manufactures whilst the States send us a great deal of raw material admitted free. The British democracy, the artisans whose goods we tax, are no better pleased than the British Tories with the N. P., and, like Cobden, regard our professions of loyalty as so much sounding brass. Cobden was no traitor; the Queen offered him his choice of a baronetcy or admission to the Privy Council for his services in connection with the Anglo-French commercial treaty but he declined to accept either. In his "Recollections and Suggestions," Lord John Russell, who had been premier, opposed the cession of Canada to the United States by any British Ministry but nevertheless felt called on to make this observation:—"It is hardly necessary to say that when the majority in any of our dependencies declare by their representatives that they wish to separate from us, no attempt should be made to detain them. The faults committed by George Grenville, Charles Townshend and Lord North can never be repeated."

It may be taken for granted, without multiplying quotations, that we are at perfect liberty, so far as Britain is concerned,

to make this an independent country or to join the United States as we ourselves may determine. Canadians have as good a right to discuss the future of Canada as British statesmen. If it be not "treasonable" in Mr. Gladstone, Lord Beaconsfield or Lord John Russell to look forward to the severance of the connection, it is not treasonable for any citizen of this country to do so, nor for him to look forward to the happy consummation which Mr. Bright predicted in a speech at Birmingham on the anti-slavery war:

"I cannot believe that civilization, in its journey with the sun, will sink into endless night in order to gratify the ambition of the leaders of this revolt, who seek to

Wade through slaughter to a throne,
And shut the gates of mercy on mankind.

I have another and a far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be but a vision but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen north in unbroken line to the glowing south, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main—and I see one people, and one language, and one law, and one faith, and, over all that wide continent, the home of freedom and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and every clime."

3.—Expectations at Confederation.

The growth and prosperity of Canada must be judged by that of the United States. There is no getting away from this comparison since we ourselves invite it whenever we ask a European emigrant to settle here rather than in the States. Moreover the comparison is always before the eyes of our native born population, which soon learns to what extent we are running behind. Canada has prodigious resources. The Atlantic provinces contain iron, coal, lumber and prolific fisheries; Quebec has copper, asbestos, phosphates and slate, water-power of immense capacity, an abundance of spruce and white woods, and a people thrifty, industrious and adapted for factory work. It is not necessary to speak of the wealth of Ontario in pine, iron, nickel, salt and farming land, or of that of the North-West and British Columbia. If ours is not the best half of the continent it is certainly a right goodly heritage. At the union of Upper and Lower Canada public men began to expatiate upon the great future which they

believed to be at hand. They compared our census returns with those of the United States and were filled with enthusiasm.(a) Dr. Lillie, of Toronto, who wrote a book, was satisfied Ohio had no chance in the race with Upper Canada. At Confederation this superb confidence had in no degree abated; the more ardent advocates of the new régime looked for a marvellous increase in population and wealth in a very short time. It was thought by some that there would be ten million people by 1881; one speaker at a public meeting entered into an elaborate calculation to show that there would be fifteen millions by 1891. The "fathers" accordingly erected a most elaborate framework of government. The error then committed has since been aggravated by both parties until Canadians are now paying more for government in proportion to their capacity than any other five million people in the world.

There are fifteen or sixteen Ministers within and without the Cabinet at Ottawa, of whom twelve or more are in receipt of a salary of $7,000 a year with a sessional allowance of $1,000, or $8,000 in all. The Premier draws $9,000. The other paid Ministers, those outside the Cabinet, get less. Yet the affairs of the United States are managed by eight Ministers and no more who are paid $8,000, and as they do not sit in Congress they have no extras. There are 215 members of the House of Commons and 80 members of the Senate. Each is paid $1,000 sessional allowance with mileage. The present Congress consists of 88 senators and 356 members of the House of Representatives. They are paid $5,000 a year with mileage. But their duties are more arduous than those of Canadian members; every second session is known as the long session and often lasts nine months or more. In the Commons at Ottawa there is one member for every 23,000 people; in the House of Representatives one for every 174,000. In the Dominion Senate, Ontario and Quebec have 24 members each, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick 10 each, Manitoba and British Columbia 3 each, Prince Edward Island 4 and the Territories 2. In the United States Senate, each State of the Union is represented by two senators only. The United States Senate discharges functions of the highest impor-

(a). Some fell victims to what is known as the percentage fallacy. For instance, a province which, let it be supposed, had 10,000 inhabitants in 1840 and 20,000 in 1850 has doubled its population, while a State which contained 500,000 in 1840 and 675,000 in 1850 has increased only 35 per cent. But it would be absurd to infer from these percentages of growth that the population of the province was certain to overtake and pass that of the State. As well suppose that an infant which has doubled its age from its first to its second year is bound to catch up with its father who in the same space of time has added but one year to his twenty or thirty.

tance, but it is not easy to define those of the Senate at Ottawa. It was constituted as a protection to the provinces but has never moved a finger for the protection of provincial rights; it was to have been a check on hasty legislation but Mr. Edward Blake said:—"I have seen bills which, even in our hurried and unsatisfactory way of disposing of business in the Commons, had taken long and weary sittings sent up to the Senate, read the first time, read a second time, referred to the committee of the whole, passed by committee of the whole, reported to the House, read the third time and passed and sent down to us again in almost as short a time as I have taken to tell the story." Thus far, although everybody regards it as a fifth wheel to the coach, no serious attempt has been made to reform or abolish it; in fact the game of both the old parties seems to be to augment rather than to diminish the number of Federal and Provincial tax-eaters. The local legislatures are eight in number, including that of the Territories. In the three Maritime Provinces and Quebec there are double chambers, but Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are about to adopt the single chamber. The number of members is 420 odd.[a] Adding the members at Ottawa, it takes over 700 persons to make laws for us. Of this number 50 are Ministers of the Crown in receipt of salaries. Each legislature meets annually. In the United States the State legislatures are bicameral as in Quebec and the Maritime Provinces; on the other hand almost all meet but once in two years.[b] According to our proportion about 9,000 Federal and State law-makers would be required in the United States. The Governor-General receives $50,000 a year with a free house, or as much as President Cleveland. The lieutenant-governors of Ontario and Quebec get $10,000 a year with free house; the other six are paid from $7,000 to $9,000 with a house. The governors of the rich commonwealths of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey get $10,000 a year with free house, and there are lieutenant-governors besides; but in the other States the salary of the governor runs from $1,500 in Vermont and $2,000

(a) Prince Edward Island has 13 legislative councillors and 30 members of the Assembly; Nova Scotia, 17 and 38 respectively; New Brunswick, 17 and 41. There are thus 156 local representatives for a population under 900,000, with three Lieutenant-Governors each having a sub-vice-regal establishment. Government House at Regina, built by the Dominion Government, cost about $80,000. Cobden wrote of Confederation:—"There is, I think, an inherent weakness in the parody of our old English constitution that is performed on the miniature scenes of the colonial capitals, with their speeches from the throne, votes of confidence, appeals to the country, changes of ministry, etc., and all about such trumpery issues that the game at last becomes ridiculous in the eyes of both spectators and actors."

(b) There are 48 State and Territorial legislatures. All but five meet biennially. The five are the legislatures of Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and South Carolina.

in Michigan to $6,000 in California and Illinois. If the yearly cost, direct and indirect, of our governors, Federal and Provincial legislators, municipal councils, school and license boards, Federal civil service, Provincial civil service, registrars, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other functionaries of high and low degree could be ascertained, the amount would stagger the office-holders themselves. It is worth while remarking that when Confederation was being discussed, the Imperial Government hinted that the cost of so much machinery might prove burdensome. In a despatch (Dominion Sessional Papers, 1865) to Lord Monck, Mr. Cardwell said:—"A very important part of this subject is the expense which may attend the working of the Central and Local governments. Her Majesty's Government cannot but express the earnest hope that the arrangements which may be adopted in this respect may not be of such a nature as to increase, at least in any considerable degree, the whole expenditure, or to make any material addition to the taxation and thereby retard the internal industry or tend to impose new burdens on the commerce of the country." The office-holder always opposes any change likely to endanger his tenure. The army of them billeted on the Canadian tax-payer is intensely hostile to Continental Union.

The Confederation men not only made preparations by erecting a costly system of government for the burst of population and prosperity that was expected, but set to work with a will to construct railways, canals, harbors and public buildings. In 1870 the North-west was acquired; British Columbia joined in 1871; Prince Edward Island in 1873 Each of these additions called for fresh expenditure which was cheerfully provided. That the politicians should have been sanguine is not to be wondered at. The United States had just emerged from a civil war in which three million fighting men had been engaged and an immense amount of property destroyed, to say nothing of the destruction of human life. The Federal debt of the United States in 1866, counting claims subsequently paid, was over three thousand million dollars, and the annual interest charge close on $150,000,000. A considerable portion of the debt had been borrowed at excessive rates of interest and at periods when a hundred-dollar bond did not bring more than $50 in gold. Trade and commerce were dislocated, almost every article entering into the cost of living and producing was taxed by the customs tariff or the internal revenue schedules, the currency was depreciated, the bloated expenditures had produced much political corruption, and a good many Americans had lost heart. On the other hand, the new Dominion was lightly burdened, the

gross debt being $93,000,000 or about $30 per head of the population against nearly $90 in the United States. The tariff was a low revenue tariff which enabled the farmer and lumberman to buy store goods cheaply and abundantly, thus as it were creating a demand for their wares. Englishmen took an interest in us and strove to divert the stream of emigration from the United States to these provinces. "We start," said Sir Alexander Galt at Sherbrooke, "with a wet sheet and a flowing sea and it will be our own fault if we do not make port."

Probably no community of the same size ever embarked with a lighter heart on undertakings so large and ambitious. To begin with, we built the Intercolonial, which has recently been extended to Cape Breton. Main line and branches, it is now 1,200 miles long and has cost on capital account over $50,000,000, on which we pay $2,000,000 a year interest. It has been run on the paternal principle, the colliery owners amongst others have enjoyed rates which did not pay the cost of the haul. It also seems probable that the Liberals when in office turned it into a sort of eleemosynary attachment to the party machine precisely as Conservatives are accused of doing now. At any rate it has never paid running expenses much less interest on capital. Then we set about deepening the canals, a task not yet completed. The official "Statistical Year Book of Canada," 1891, gives the expenditure on canals by the Imperial and Provincial governments prior to Confederation as $21,000,000. At Confederation the canals became the property of the Dominion Government, which has spent on them, exclusive of cost of repairs, a further sum of $36,500,000, making the total outlay over $57,000,000. They have yielded no direct return on the money sunk, but have undoubtedly done much to promote the development of the country.

Of late a large amount has been spent in bonusing local railways by the Dominion and Provincial governments and the municipalities. Our principal venture, however, has been the Canadian Pacific. In cash, built sections and lands, putting a very moderate value on the lands, we have given that system in all its ramifications in the neighborhood of $100,000,000. The bargain was that it should be an all-Canadian line from end to end, devoting itself in particular to the colonisation of the North-West. That, in fact, was its reason for being; public aid would not have been granted except on that understanding. Some Liberals and a few Conservatives like Sir David Macpherson thought an all-Canadian route would cost too much. Sir David said in a pamphlet that his own opinion "had always

been that we should have been content for the time to use the United States lines for our all-rail route to Manitoba, and begin our Pacific Railway at Pembina." This was Mr. Blake's view too, but other Liberals like George Brown favored an all-Canadian route from start to finish. The public mind was quieted by the assurances of Sir John Macdonald. He declared in the House (Feb. 10th, 1882) that the lands would pay for the road. He was positive on the point. "It is safe," he said, "it is certainly beyond the possibility of doubt to say that every farthing and every cent and every dollar that has been or will be expended in building the Canadian Pacific Railway—that not one shilling of the burden will fall on our shoulders or on the shoulders of the generation that shall succeed us. We will be free from the whole amount of that debt." Sir Leonard Tilley in his budget speech in 1882 expressed the same confidence in the ability of the Government to make good the outlay on the road by the sale of lands to settlers so that there would be no permanent addition to the debt. [a]

According to the Year Book,[b] the Dominion Government had spent down to 1891 no less than $143,000,000 in bonusing railways and had advanced loans, still outstanding, to the amount of $21,000,000 more, whilst the provinces had spent $30,000,000 and the municipalities $16,000,000, making the grand cash outlay on railways by five millions of people $210,000,000. Moreover, upwards of 47,000,000 acres of land have been given to railways by the Dominion Government, principally to lines in the North-West. Quebec and some of the other provinces have voted land grants exceeding thirteen million acres. It is difficult to estimate the value of the lands, and they may be put out of the calculation with the remark that the acreage voted away in the North-West is equal to twice the area under cultivation in the Province of Ontario. Adding the cost of the canals to the cash subsidies and loans to railways, we get $270,000,000 as the amount spent on opening the country for settle-

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(a) In that speech, Sir Leonard estimated the increase of population throughout Canada between 1881 and 1891 at 18 per cent. at the least (it turned out to be only 12), reckoned that 75,000,000 acres would be given away to settlers by 1890 and 75,000,000 more sold at $1.50 per acre, and concluded that in 1890 the Federal debt would be about $100,000,000, or less than $20 per head. See also Sir Charles Tupper's speeches in April, 1882, and May, 1883. Sir John Macdonald calculated that by 1891 the receipts from lands would amount to $58,000,000 after deducting the expense of management, etc. Up to the present the receipts have not paid for surveys and management. Sir Charles Tupper expected to live to see 100,000 farmers raising 640,000,000 bushels of wheat a year.

(b) Wherever the Dominion Year Book is quoted it is the Year Book for 1891. At the time of writing the Year Book for 1892 has not been issued from Ottawa.

ment by means of transportation routes. Were the people of the United States, putting their number at sixty-five millions or thirteen times ours, to launch out to-morrow for internal improvements in the same lavish manner the outlay would exceed their war debt at its highest notch.

4.—The Reality.

No one would attempt to deny that there has been a very considerable measure of growth and expansion in Canada. A young community which should remain stationary would be in the preliminary stages of atrophy. But our rate of progress has been painfully slow. De Tocqueville described the contrast which existed in his day between the slave States and the free States across the line in these words:

> "The traveller who floats down the current of the Ohio to the point where that river joins the Mississippi, may be said to sail between liberty and slavery, and he needs only to look around him in order to decide in an instant which is the more favorable to humanity. On the southern bank of the river the population is thinly scattered; from time to time one descries a gang of slaves at work, going with indolent air over the half desert fields; the primeval forest unceasingly reappears; one would think that the people were asleep; man seems to be idle, nature alone offers a picture of activity and life. From the northern bank, on the contrary, there arises the busy hum of industry which is heard afar off; the fields abound with rich harvests; comfortable homes indicate the taste and care of the laborer; prosperity is seen on all sides; man appears to be rich and content."

Canadians are not in bondage, yet, with a few verbal changes, this description would apply fairly well to the contrast between the Canadian and the American sides of the international boundary from ocean to ocean. It is true the United States had the start of us, although not to any great extent of French Canada; but surely there must be some other reason for the profound difference between our country and theirs in the matter of activity, development and wealth. The census returns furnish the explanation in part. We are unable to retain our population. The blue books show that between 1881 and 1891 over 800,000 persons from Europe settled in Canada. Nevertheless the population in those ten years increased only 500,000; in other words, we lost through emigration to the United States a multitude equal in number to the whole natural increase in the decade plus 300,000

of the emigrants, or at least a million men, women and children. An invader who should overrun the country could not do worse if he wished to efface us than deport our choicest flesh and blood in that wholesale fashion. In an eloquent rebuke to those who believe in British connection at any price, "Fidelis," of Kingston, writes:

> Ye drive our best and brightest forth, our nation's hope and pride—
> More precious to our country's weal than all her wealth beside,
> To be the strength of alien states, of empire not our own,
> And all to "build the nation up" without its corner stone!
>
> Then from the dregs of other lands, the wretched and the weak,
> Unfit for what before them lies, new sufferings come to seek;
> Will they give back to Canada the strength she casts away—
> Can they replace the gallant youth that leave our shores to-day?
>
> God gave this mighty continent to this our fathers' race,
> The north and south He made for all, and crowned them with His grace,
> That each might fill the other's lack, and love and plenty reign—
> What He hath joined together let no man cleave in twain!

According to the returns (Statesman's Year Book, 1893) the total emigration of British subjects from the United Kingdom for 1881-90 was 2,558,000. But besides being an old the United Kingdom is an overcrowded community with a population (37,900,000) more than seven times greater than ours; so that a comparison of its volume of emigration with ours only serves to set in a more vivid light the truly appalling drain to which this young country is being subjected. (a) Look for an instant at the American census. The percentage of increase there was more than double the percentage here notwithstanding that the percentage tends to diminish, according to arithmetical rule, as population expands. A single State in the North-West, Minnesota, showed as large a numerical increase as the whole Dominion; the increase in the city of Chicago was greater by 90,000. Dakota, which started even with Manitoba in 1870, has now a population of 512,000, while the population of Manitoba and all the North-West Territories is only half that figure. Ohio, which Dr. Lillie thought would be overshadowed by Upper Canada, contains 3,672,000 inhabitants, or a million and a half more than Upper Canada; it and Michigan have 700,000 more than the entire

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(a) The exodus is no respecter of persons. It carries off clergymen, doctors, lawyers, university graduates, etc., as well as farmers, mechanics and clerks. The Toronto papers of May 6 contained a report of the proceedings of the Board of Regents of Victoria University in which this passage occurred: "Mr. John N. Lake, who has gone to reside in New York, resigned his position as regent. Dr. Downey, who has gone to Chicago, also resigned his position, and so did Rev. Dr. Hugh Johnston, who has gone to a church in Washington."

Dominion. Illinois, Nebraska, Oregon, Texas, Wisconsin, Washington and other new States exhibit an equally remarkable growth. The answer of Sir Oliver Mowat and the Tory knights is that rural New England is losing population. It is not, as anyone can see, a sufficient answer, but it is the only thing they can think of to set against the wonderful development in the Republic. Now, New England is not and never was a good farming region. The ice-cap which covered the continent ages ago left it strewn with rocks and bleak hillsides where the husbandman stands little chance with his competitor on good soils like those of Ontario and the Western States. Farming is being abandoned, as iron smelting was abandoned in Kent, because it can be carried on more profitably elsewhere. But the population which deserts rural New England does not desert the United States; it migrates beyond the Ohio or seeks employment in the workshops and warehouses nearer home, and still helps to build up the Union. No one would put Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces—Old Canada—on a level with New England as regards agricultural capabilities. The former possess as good a soil as is to be found in America outside the deep black loams of the North-West; indeed there are tracts in Ontario, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island as fertile as any under the sun. Furthermore, the Canadian provinces contain a wealth of lumber and fish surpassing that of New England in her palmiest days, with a store of minerals, including coal and iron, such as she could never boast of. Nevertheless population in Old Canada is not increasing nearly so rapidly as in New England; and what is worse, the young men and young women who abandon those provinces do not move to the western lands in our own country but for the most part, as the census shows, go across the line. (a)

(a) The census returns of the older provinces for 1881-91 are here compared with the census returns for 1889-90 from the New England States:—

	1881.	*1891.*	*Percentage of increase.*
Ontario	1,923,228	2,114,321	9·93
Quebec	1,359,027	1,488,535	9·53
Nova Scotia	440,572	450,396	2·22
Prince Edward Island	108,891	109,078	0·17
New Brunswick	321,233	321,263	0·00
	1889.	*1890.*	
Massachusetts	1,783,085	2,238,943	25·57
Connecticut	622,700	746,258	19·84
Rhode Island	276,531	345,506	24·94
New Hampshire	346,991	376,530	8·51
Maine	648,936	661,086	1·87
Vermont	332,286	332,422	0·00

For abandoned farms and farms on which the former owner is now residing as a mere caretaker for the mortgagee, we need not go so far afield as New England. There are many hundreds in Ontario and Quebec; they are particularly plentiful along the south shore of the St. Lawrence from Point Levis to River du Loup, where the Intercolonial begins. Neither that fifty-million-dollar road, operated on easy-going principles, nor the good soil, nor the inexhaustible supply of coal and iron lying side by side, nor the rich fisheries and lumber, nor the multiplication of subsidised branch railways, thickest where the party scrimmage has been most severe, has prevented the Maritime Provinces from losing to the United States virtually the whole of the natural increase in their population together with the increase through emigration from Europe. Nothing like the catastrophe which has overtaken them has ever occurred in any other new country of equal resources. It is only by studying their woeful plight, by noting the large number of counties in Ontario and Quebec which show an actual decline in population, and by counting the swarm of friends and relations each of us has lost by the exodus, that one can accept the statement of the Washington census bureau that there are close on a million (980,000) native Canadians in the United States, to say nothing of the hundreds of thousands of European-born persons who sojourned in Canada for a while, brought out many of them at the public expense, and then crossed the frontier to better their lot.

What are the moral consequences to a country of the flight of the best, the fittest to survive, of its people? Lecky, the historian, after giving an account of the rush from Ireland to America at the end of the eighteenth century, says:—

> "If, as there appears much reason to believe, there is such a thing as a hereditary transmission of moral and intellectual qualities, the removal from a nation of tens of thousands of the ablest and most energetic of its citizens must inevitably, by a mere physical law, result in the degradation of the race. Nor is it necessary to fall back upon any speculations of disputed science. In every community there exists a small minority of men whose abilities, high purpose and energy of will mark them out as in some degree leaders of men. These take the first step in every public enterprise, counteract by their example the vicious elements of the population, set the current and form the standard of public opinion, and infuse a healthy moral vigor into the nation. In Ireland, for three or four generations, such men were steadily weeded out. Can we wonder that the standard of public morals and of public spirit should have declined?"

Had we been able to retain the flower of our population, native and foreign born, during the last twenty or thirty years, public

opinion would scarcely have sunk into that "death-like apathy" which has proved so favorable to the growth of boodling and kindred forms of political rascality. We should probably have been a manlier people; there would have been less grovelling before a fetich, and, it is safe to say, a more strenuous insistence upon our duty to do the best we can for ourselves and our children regardless of minor considerations. In proportion to population Canada is now losing more people by emigration than any other civilised country old or young in the world, Ireland not excepted. Is not that enough to satisfy every reasonable man that there is something radically wrong in our condition? (a)

The trade returns are another good index of the state of the country. For three years, 1872-3-4, the foreign trade (imports and exports combined) averaged $210,000,000 a year. Then there was a falling off until 1882-83. The average for those two years was $226,000,000. Another falling off occurred to such an extent that the average for the five years 1887-91 was only $209,000,000. The apologists say that there has been a great drop in values since 1883, and particularly since 1873 and 1874, affecting exports and imports alike. This is quite true, and it is rather an awkward thing for those who promised that the value of farm products, which form the bulk of our exports, would be augumented by their protective tariff. Allowing for the drop in values, we must on the other hand note that since 1874 the ordinary expenditure of the Dominion has risen from twenty three to thirty-six millions, and that the debt has been more than doubled, the increase from $108,000,000 to $238,000,000 in 1891 having gone mainly into new railways and other agencies for enlarging the field and capacity of the great natural industries of farming, mining, fishing and lumbering. Then, notwithstanding the exodus, there has been a considerable increase in population since 1874. Taking everything into account, therefore, the fact that our foreign trade was less in value between 1887 and 1891 than at former periods as far back as 1872-74 is a very ugly fact. It is idle for Ministers to ramble off into comparisons between the per capita value of our foreign trade and the per capita value of the foreign trade of the United States. Both countries injure their commerce by tariffs framed expressly to prevent the foreigner from giving his surplus goods in exchange for theirs and

(a) In a speech at Parkdale, July, 1878, Sir John Macdonald said: "Was it not a crying shame that though this country had a fertile soil, a healthful climate, a strong and well-educated people and good laws, 500,000 of our people should have crossed our borders in these years and taken up their abode in the United States because they could not find employment here for their skill and energy and enterprise in consequence of the false policy of our rulers?"

which necessarily have the effect of diminishing their sales to him. The foreign trade of the United States, though much less per capita than ours, has shown a pretty steady increase since 1872. The yearly average for 1872-74 was $1,100,000,000; for 1882-3, $1,500,000,000; for 1887-91, $1,540,000,000; and all that time the public debt was not increasing but vanishing. (a)

5.—The Federal and Provincial Debt.

The reason why we are not more prosperous being explained in part by the exodus, let us enquire briefly into the causes of the exodus, beginning at the fringe by comparing our debt with that of the United States.

It has been said that much of the United States debt was contracted at exorbitant rates of interest and at times when the bonds fetched but 50 per cent. in gold of their face value. Many supposed that the people could not be induced to redeem with $100 in gold the bond which had brought them only $50; but the American democracy has been scrupulously honest and its creditors are getting all that was covenanted for to the last cent. (b)

The net Federal debt of the United States on June 30, 1892, was $841,500,000, or $14 per head of the population according to the census of 1890.

The net Federal debt of the Dominion at the same date was $241,100,000, or $50 per head.

(a) The Year Book shows that in 1891 the foreign trade of Canada was $45 per head, and that of the United States only $27.50. The compiler adds that these figures "do not necessarily indicate that this country is in a better commercial position, but probably only that as regards imports a larger proportion of home manufactured goods is provided in the States, and that that country, therefore, is not compelled to the same extent to go elsewhere for supplies." The United States, a country of two or three climates, naturally does a larger internal trade than a country with only one; besides, over a million persons are added by immigration and natural increase to its home market every year. And, as Mr. Gladstone and others have observed, it is of all countries the one best adapted for, *i.e.*, the one likely to suffer least from a protective tariff.

(b) Writing in 1880 in an article, "Kin Beyond the Sea," Mr. Gladstone praised the "self-command, self-denial, and wise forethought for the future" of the Americans in redeeming their debt at its par value so rapidly. The historian would record with surprise that "the most unmitigated democracy known to the annals of the world resolutely reduced at its own cost prospective liabilities of the State, which the aristocratic and plutocratic and monarchical Government of the United Kingdom had been contented ignobly to hand over to posterity."

The annual interest charge on the debt of the United States has fallen from $146,000,000 in 1866 to $23,000,000. The net interest charge on the Dominion debt has risen from $4,400,000 in 1868 to $8,700,000.

The net debt of the individual States and Territories in 1890 was $223,000,000. The net debts of the provinces cannot be correctly ascertained, but they exceed $25,000,000, and some of the assets, especially in Quebec, are of exceedingly doubtful value.

The aggregate of the net Federal, State, county, city and town, and school district debts of the United States, that is, of their entire public indebtedness, amounted in 1890 to $32 per head, or to about two-thirds of the per capita of our Dominion debt alone. There are no returns in this country giving the municipal debts, but they are known to be large. Nor is it possible to institute a comparison between the private mortgage indebtedness in the two countries; American figures are accessible but there are none from Canada.

Confining ourselves then to the Federal, State and Provincial debts, the Americans owe $18 per head whilst we owe $55. To put it differently, a family of five in the States is burdened to the extent of $90, a family in Canada to the extent of $275. The per capita liability for interest is far and away less on that side of the line than on this.

From time to time in his speeches on the budget, Sir Richard Cartwright has cited figures to prove that, all round, Canada is more heavily taxed than the United States apart altogether from the superior ability, owing to their greater wealth, of the Americans to bear taxation. Probably that is true though it is extremely difficult to make a strictly accurate comparison. The financial systems of the two countries are not alike. Thus the Dominion treasury grants subsidies to the provinces to enable them to defray the cost of local government, whilst in the United States each State stands on its own feet with its hands in its own pockets and provides for local expenditure wholly from local resources. There are other differences which need not be described at length; for example, there is nothing analogous in the Dominion budget to the vast sum paid for war pensions and debt redemption in the United States. A comparison may be made of the sums paid in customs taxes ($174,000,000 in the States last year against $20,500,000 in Canada) and in other ways, but it is not a precise test. It is indisputable, however, that the general burdens Federal and State across the line have been becoming less and less onerous whilst ours have enormously increased since 1867.

The plan of granting Federal subsidies to the provinces has proved vicious. It engenders provincial extravagance and leads

to frequent log-rolling for "better terms," which go to swell the Dominion debt. With the single exception of Ontario, all the provinces are running into debt, the yearly expenditure exceeding the receipts with unvarying regularity, and what is euphemistically termed a "readjustment" must soon be made again. Quebec is in desperate straits and if her load be not lightened may be tempted to repudiate. To relieve her and the others, it would be necessary to add twenty or thirty millions to the Dominion debt, for Ontario would have to be compensated. But in reality no compensation which Ontario could get would be fair to her. She pays three-fifths of the expenses of the Dominion, hence supposing the embarrassed provinces received relief to the extent of twenty millions and she got as much for compensation, she would be putting the interest on twenty into her own exchequer whilst paying into the Federal exchequer three-fifths of the interest on forty—a losing transaction. The unsatisfactory condition of the finances of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces is due in the main to extravagance, and to the fact that those provinces pay for much of the service performed in Ontario by the municipal councils at the expense of the municipal ratepayer. The whole arrangement is unjust. It would be money in the pocket of Ontario to enter the American Union where she would have to provide for her own local expenditure only. That she could do for years without resorting to direct taxation inasmuch as the Crown lands, the iron and nickel deposits and every stick of pine owned by the province would be immensely enhanced in value and her revenue from them proportionately increased. The States, as has been said, pursue this system. Having to foot their own bills without hope of assistance from Washington, they are careful in their expenditure and do not enter upon large ventures without first counting the cost. Many of them have constitutional provisions limiting the amount of the debt which may be contracted. Some, like Michigan and Kansas, have constitutional provisions against the carrying on of internal improvements by the State Governments, such work being very properly left to private enterprise. In all, the spirit of thrift prevails; if other abuses arise at times extravagance is seldom complained of. It is startling to reflect that the net debt of Quebec is as large as the State debts of all New England and those of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York combined.[a]

(a) At the census of 1890 the net debts of those States came to $25,140,000; they have since been reduced. The net debt of Quebec at an honest reckoning is about $24,000,000. Her population is 1,488,000; that of the States named 17,400,000. There is no comparison between their wealth and hers.

The friends of the colonial status try to make a point by asserting that although our neighbors have been paying off their Federal debt with surprising ease, it is a debt which represents nothing but powder and shot; while, per contra, if we have been heaping up debt with equal energy it is a debt that represents useful improvements. An American would probably reply that his Federal debt removed the stain of slavery from the escutcheon of his country and welded a loose congeries of States into a great and powerful nation. He would add that notwithstanding the wholesale redemption of the debt—a thousand millions in ten years—Americans have by no means neglected the work of internal development; for example there are now 165,000 miles of railroad in operation, or more than in all Europe. The difference between Canada and the United States appears to be this—that the labor of the eight million emigrants who have settled in that country in the last twenty years has, in conjunction with native enterprise and private capital, carried on the work of material improvement in the United States with comparatively little assistance from the public chest, besides redeeming a vast amount of debt; whereas we in Canada have been obliged to resort to a much greater extent, relatively speaking, to public subsidies and owing to the ravages of the exodus have had less help from the productive energy of our people.

6.—Our "National Highway."

Besides having to bear a heavier load of debt, the Canadian producer is handicapped in his competition with the American producer by excessive railroad rates and by the absence of a law such as the Interstate Commerce Act of the United States for bridling the railroad corporations and ensuring fair treatment for the public. There are practically but two railroads west of Point Levis—the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk. Those two roads have received from the people in money or money's worth not far short of $130,000,000, counting the subsidies to the minor lines which they have swallowed. Nevertheless they charge exorbitant rates for freight and passengers especially to and from points where there is no competition. The complaints of the North-West settler against the Canadian Pacific were set forth at a recent farmers' meeting

at Moosomin, a report of which appeared in the Toronto *Globe* of March 14. The president of the Moosomin Agricultural Society said in an address:

"Our surplus dairy products go principally to British Columbia on which we pay almost two cents per pound freight—nearly if not quite as much as is charged from Montreal to the same place, more than twice the distance.

"On our wheat we have to pay almost 30 cents per bushel all rail to points in Ontario. This is more, according to the distance, than is charged by the Sault line on American wheat.

"They also charge us 16 1-5c per bushel on wheat from Winnipeg to Fort William, 426 miles, while wheat is hauled from St. Paul to Chicago for 12c. per bushel, a like distance.

"On a car of beef, 20,000 lbs., from Moosomin to Port Arthur, 650 miles, the freight is $256, and the rate to Montreal, 1,000 miles further on, is $542 per car for the same quantity.

"On things coming into the country, except settlers' effects, the rates are higher still, while the local rates are excessive and discriminate against non-competing points.

"We as Canadians have to bear our share of large responsibilities incurred in aiding the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and should be entitled to moderate rates and if there are any advantages going we should receive them, not the Americans. It seems to me the North-West Assembly did not go as far as they should have done in memorializing the Dominion Government on this subject."

Speaking of the condition of the farmers in the district the president said:

"Over 1,000,000 bushels of wheat have been exported, which netted the farmer 30 cents or less per bushel. Would any farmer sell wheat for from 20 to 30 cents a bushel unless forced to do so by actual necessity?

"Thousands of farmers (and merchants in turn) are unable to meet their engagements. There is general complaint of business being in a very unsatisfactory condition throughout the towns, and one can scarcely pick up a paper without finding complaints from farmers.

"The rate of interest on mortgages is from 8 to 9 per cent. and there is a correspondingly high rate on notes, all of which goes to show the extremely depressed condition of the country.

"This is our true position. Politicians may produce elaborate arrays of figures to show Canada's increasing trade, to show that our exports exceed our imports, and so on. They deceive only themselves and but prove the gigantic efforts of the farmers of Canada to make both ends meet under conditions which would ruin any other industry in short order."

It was not a Grit meeting. The seconder of the principal resolution is chairman of the local Conservative association. The resolutions called for a sweeping reduction of the N. P. and for the passage of a law similar to the Interstate Commerce Act. But Parliament is not likely to try a fall with railroad kings who make and could unmake it.

There is a brief reference in the president's address to the discrimination against the Canadian and in favor of the American

wheat-grower practised by our so-called national highway. This is a matter of grave importance. The Canadian Pacific was pledged to do its best to colonize the Canadian North-West and to have its winter port within Canada, at St. John, Halifax or elsewhere. It discovered, however, that it could not exist upon the traffic obtainable in Canada alone and began to build and acquire lines in the United States. To get freights for its American feeders it has to make its rates from one point in the United States to another *vid* Canada as low as those of its American competitors. Thus, in carrying the wheat of Dakota and Minnesota from Minneapolis to the Sault and Sudbury and thence to Boston, or in carrying merchandise from New York to Minneapolis, it frames its rates not according to those which it charges in the Canadian North-West, where it has a virtual monopoly, but according to those charged by the American lines between Minneapolis, Boston and New York. The result is that instead of favoring the Canadian settler who has to bear his share of the huge Federal borrowings incurred for its construction, it charges him more both for what it carries out and for what it brings in than it charges the settler south of the line who has not given it a cent. In like manner, in order to secure traffic from and to American ports like Boston it cuts its rates below those charged on similar goods going to or coming from St. John and Halifax, and, in fact, uses American ports in winter instead of Canadian ports for the greater part of its through traffic. It has ceased, in short, to be a national road and is promoting American interests east and west at our expense. The following table, taken from the Canadian Pacific winter tariff 1892–3, clearly establishes this anomalous state of things :

Rate for wheat from Winnipeg to St. John and Halifax, 63¼ cents per 100 pounds or $38\frac{1}{10}$ cents per bushel.

Rate for wheat from Winnipeg to Boston, 54 cents per 100 pounds or 32 4 cents per bushel.

Rate for wheat from Minneapolis to Boston, $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents per 100 pounds or $22\frac{6}{10}$ cents per bushel.

Rate for first-class merchandise from St John to Winnipeg, $2.60 per 100 pounds; from Halifax to Winnipeg, $2.68.

Rate for first-class merchandise from New York to Winnipeg, $2.13 per 100 pounds.

Rate for first-class merchandise from New York to Minneapolis, $1.30 per 100 pounds. (a)

(a) The wheat rate from Winnipeg to points in Ontario west of Brockville is 46 cents per 100 pounds, 27 6/10 cents per bushel, nearly five cents more than the rate from Minneapolis to Boston.

A large quantity of wheat is carried from the Canadian and American North-West eastward in winter. Had Parliament and the people supposed that the shipper and importer in Manitoba and Canadian ports on the Atlantic would have been discriminated against in this sweeping manner, it is certain they would not have voted $100,000,000 for the building of the Canadian Pacific. We should have saved our money and been no worse off as regards rates by using the American lines, as an all-rail route to Manitoba, and running our own road from Pembina and Winnipeg into the prairie country, as proposed by Mr. Blake and Mr. Macpherson.

It is no doubt true as Mr. Van Horne and his newspapers contend that Minneapolis is nearer the seaboard than Winnipeg; that if the road is to be kept going in Canada it must obtain American traffic by lowering its rates to the American figure; that there is a long stretch of wilderness east of Winnipeg where no local freight is obtainable; that St. John and Halifax are too remote to be taken into account in the transportation of North-West wheat and merchandise, and not sufficiently provided with steamship lines. Granting this and all else that can be said from the point of view of the railroad, the fact remains that the Canadian people are the victims of misplaced confidence.

But how are we to get rid of this weighty grievance under existing political conditions? And how are we to clear off our Federal and Provincial indebtedness so that we may be on a level footing with the Americans when the last of their bonds shall be redeemed at a time not far remote (a). The tendency of our debt is to grow, and it does not need a prophet to tell that if it keeps on growing whilst theirs is being finally extinguished we may look for a constantly increasing exodus and a more marked disposition on the part of the foreign investor to give us the cold shoulder.

7.—Our Commercial Isolation.

The chief drawback to Canadian prosperity, however, is the severance of the country from its natural market. That is the

(a) Andrew Carnegie, in "Triumphant Democracy," says: "It may confidently be predicted that ere the close of this century, extraordinary events excepted, the last bond of the Republic will be publicly burned at Washington with imposing ceremonies amid the universal rejoicings of the people."

source and origin of most of the evils which afflict us. It may be true that, even if Canada joined the United States, there would still be an exodus owing to the instinctive desire of a northern race to turn its face to the sun. But anyone who studies the question must perceive that the principal cause of the exodus is the inability of the people, arising from their isolation from the rest of the continent, to make the most profitable use of their labor and resources, and that, by doing away forever with that disqualification, Continental Union would bring us increased population and increased wealth as if at a magician's call.

Look at the map and bear in mind that nature takes no account of artificial boundaries established by man. The Dominion is divided not by man but by nature into four distinct geographical sections. The Maritime Provinces are separated from Ontario and Quebec by a howling wilderness; Ontario and Quebec from the North-West by a thousand miles of rock and water; the North-West from the inhabited portion of British Columbia by lofty mountain ranges. Each of these blocks, if let alone, would trade with the American territory to the south rather than with the other blocks, for all the blocks lie within the same zone and are hundreds of miles apart to boot. The Atlantic Provinces would not trade much with Ontario, 1,200 miles distant, if they were under the same flag as New England which they can reach by water in a few hours, winter as well as summer. Their coal, lumber, fish, iron and farm products could be laid down at Boston for a trifling rate, with an assured demand. New England contains nearly as many inhabitants in a space of 60,000 square miles as the whole long-drawn out Dominion from Cape Breton to Vancouver; and our Maritime brethren would have a profitable market there for all they could produce even if they did not sell a dollar's worth to the rest of the United States. Quebec would also have a lucrative market in the manufacturing towns of New England, and, like the Maritime Provinces, would herself become the seat of manufactures. Ontario rests upon the four seas of Superior, Huron, Erie and Ontario. She projects wedge-like for 400 miles into American territory. A line drawn from the top of Minnesota to the top of Maine includes the best part of Ontario and the best part of Quebec. The protectionist says the nearer you bring the consumer to the producer the better for both. That is true, provided you do not give the producer power to thrust on the consumer goods that could be purchased for less elsewhere. Consider, then, the advantageous position Ontario

would occupy in being within easy reach by water and rail of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois with their twenty millions of well-to-do people. Would not that be a better home market for her farmers and manufacturers than the 2,700,000 Canadians scattered over the rest of the Dominion from Dan to Beersheba whom she now relies on? There is nothing in the cry that the Americans raise products similar to our own and therefore do not want our stuff. Those who employ that argument upset it in the next breath by declaring that the trade between the several Canadian provinces, whose products are more alike, is highly profitable. Nature has so arranged things that Canadian coal and iron lie alongside parts of the United States which have none, and *vice versâ*; our Atlantic fisheries are rich while theirs are becoming exhausted; they have yellow pine in the south and white pine in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, but none so handy and cheap for northern consumption as ours; from climatic and other causes we can raise better barley, peas, apples, cattle, horses, combing wool, etc., than they can, whilst for a like reason they can produce cotton, corn and various other articles which we cannot produce at all or only in insufficient quantities; and so on. Judge of the truth of the cry that they do not want our stuff by the following table of exports of goods the produce of Canada to the United States and Great Britain for the twenty-four years 1868 to 1891 (Year Book, 1891, p. 232):—

		Canadian Exports to United States.	Canadian Exports to Great Britain.
Aggregate for five years	1868-72	$146,000,000	$106,000,000
do do	1873-77	150,000,000	173,000,000
do do	1878-82	159,000,000	183,000,000
do do	1883-87	179,000,000	189,000,000
do for four years	1888-91	154,000,000	152,000,000
Total		$788,000,000	$803,000,000

In this period we borrowed a gigantic sum on public and private account from Great Britain, the annual interest on which is remitted in products. We have not borrowed at all from the United States. Then again whilst Britain admits our wares free of duty the United States taxes them and the taxation, which has always been high, interrupts the flow of our products southward and diverts it, to our loss, to Britain or some other second-best market. The imports of Canada for home consump-

tion from Britain and the United States between 1868 and 1891 were as follows: -

		Canadian Imports from United States.	Canadian Imports from Great Britain.
Aggregate for five years	1868-72	$141,000,000	$223,000,000
do do	1873-77	250,000,000	272,000,000
do do	1878-82	207,000,000	197,000,000
do do	1883-87	244,000,000	222,000,000
do for four years	1888-91	205,000,000	167,000,000
Total		$1,047,000,000	$1,081,000,000

Our borrowings from Britain come in the form of manufactures, dry goods, etc. Note, however, the greater growth of purchases from the States notwithstanding the double row of custom houses on the frontier. If you drive out nature with a pitchfork she is sure to come running back. Trade with our neighbors flourishes despite hostile tariffs, but we should be vastly better off if tariffs and boundaries were abolished and we became full partakers in the commercial and industrial life of the United States, with the British market still open, as it would be, to our surplus wares. Does any sensible person believe that Michigan, Minnesota, New York or Pennsylvania would have grown as they have if they had been cut off from the rest of the Union? Would they not have suffered as we are suffering from arrested development and the manifold evils that accompany it?

There are object lessons in the history of Ireland and Scotland from which our population is so largely recruited. At one time England prohibited the importation of Irish cattle, sheep and swine, beef, pork, bacon, mutton, butter and cheese. The chief source of Irish prosperity was annihilated at a blow. Then Irish wool was embargoed and Irish linens taxed 30 per cent. The consequence was that Irish industry well-nigh perished and free trade with England became the shibboleth of the whole population. Scotland had a parliament of her own down to 1707. She was excluded from trade with the colonies, her trade with England was severely hampered by customs taxes, her agriculture languished, her manufactures were weak, her mines unopened. Just before the union, England threatened to embargo Scotch cattle, coal, linen and other staples. The emancipation of trade by the removal of the customs line was a policy that commended itself to every Scotchman. Political union brought that about and Scotland began to prosper as

she had never prospered before (a). Many prophesied that she would be ruined by the union. She had no national debt whilst England had a large one for those days. The Presbyterians did not relish being brought in contact with English episcopacy. Lord Belhaven, one of the Presbyterian lords in the Scottish Parliament, made a speech which should be read by those who predict evil things of the union of Canada and the United States (b). He foresaw the national church "descending into a plain upon an equal level with Jews, Papists, Socinians, Arminians and Anabaptists;" the peerage put on a footing with excisemen; the burghers "walking their desolate streets, hanging down their heads under disappointments, wormed out of all the branches of their old trade, and necessitated to become prentices to their unkind neighbors;" the tradesman "drinking water instead of ale and eating his saltless porridge;" the husbandman "cursing the day of his birth and dreading the expense of his burial." His lordship fell on his knees during his speech and stopped abruptly to drop a tear over the tribulations in store for his country. Nevertheless the union was carried and there is not a Scotchman alive who would vote for undoing it.

8.—Past Relations with the United States.

But why go abroad for examples? An economic history of Canada since 1816 would be in the main an account of the efforts of the Canadian people, through their representatives, to get into the American market and share in the material advantages which inure to American citizenship without assuming its responsibilities. The United States has always been the largest single free-trade area in the world and its inhabitants the best of

(a) Lecky says:—"Immediately after the union the movement of industry and commerce was felt in every part of the Lowlands." He describes the extraordinary growth of shipping, of the linen woollen and carpet trades, and adds:—"The majority of the nation were certainly opposed to the union, and, directly or indirectly, it is probable that much corruption was employed to effect it; but still the fact remains that by it one of the most ardent wishes of all Scottish patriots was attained; that there had been for many years a powerful and intelligent minority who were prepared to purchase commercial freedom even at the expense of the fusion of legislatures; and that in consequence of the establishment of free trade the next generation of Scotchmen witnessed an increase of material well-being that was utterly unprecedented in the history of their country."

(b) The speech will be found in Goodrich "Select British Eloquence" and other works.

customers. From 1816 to 1854 Canadian politicians frequently importuned the British Government to secure reciprocity. The administrations of Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor and Fillmore were all approached by the British Minister at Washington. Sometimes we tried to get it by coercion, by threatening to clap heavy taxes on American goods while admitting British free, or by placing a cast-iron construction on Article 1 of the Treaty of 1818 and refusing common hospitality to American fishermen. All this time Canadian staples like wheat and lumber received preferential treatment in the British market, the policy of England being to promote the industries of her colonies by letting their products into her ports at a lower rate of duty than that imposed on similar products from foreign countries. In return, the colonies gave preferential treatment to British over foreign manufactures; indeed our tariff was framed by Britain. But notwithstanding the pull they had in Britain over foreign competitors, our people saw that the United States was the best market for much that they raised; it was so near that many products especially those of a bulky and perishable nature could be sold more profitably, whilst remittances were more prompt and there was less risk. When the annexation movement arose in 1849, the efforts to obtain reciprocity from the Washington Government were renewed with increased vigor. A conference of delegates from all the provinces met at Halifax and begged the British Minister at Washington to leave no stone unturned. In 1850 a reciprocity bill was thrown out by Congress but in 1854 Lord Elgin went to Washington and obtained a natural products treaty, which was said to have been floated through on champagne. The Democrats were in office—Mr. Pierce was President, Mr. Marcy Secretary of State—and the truth appears to be that the South supported the treaty in order to quench

(a) The late Professor Thorold Rogers put it this way:—"Translated into economical language, the Mother Country and the colonies were at the pains to adopt a policy which was either superfluous or mischievous; the former, if each of the producing countries supplied such goods as could compete with other products in point of price and quality; the latter, if English manufactures or colonial raw material were inferior in quality or higher in price than those of foreign origin. The fact was that the English manufacturer enjoyed no actual advantage, for the growth of English manufacturing industry was such that English products could undersell those of most other nations; but the colonist did enjoy an advantage as a very considerable and a very lucrative monopoly was accorded him by the protective operation of the English tariff." Mr. Dunckley has shown that in 1845, the year before the preferential system was abolished, England paid so much more for sugar grown in her West India possessions than she would have had to pay had foreign-grown sugar been admitted on equal terms, that it would have paid her to dump all the manufactures she sent to the West Indies into the sea, provided that by so doing she could have purchased foreign sugar at the tariff rates granted to the sugar colonies.

the annexation fires in Canada, its leaders being averse to seeing the North reinforced by the addition of provinces which long before had repudiated slavery and all its works. The treaty lasted from 1854 to 1866 and the provinces prospered amazingly. In 1865 the Government of Upper and Lower Canada did what they could to secure its prolongation. In 1869, and a little later during the Washington Treaty negotiations, our Ministers made fresh overtures. In 1874 George Brown, acting for the Mackenzie Cabinet, arranged a new treaty but it was not passed by the United States Senate. Reciprocity was the great objective of the N. P. adopted in 1879. The resolutions which Sir John Macdonald put forward when in Opposition declared that the N.P., "moving as it ought to do in the direction of a reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbors, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country eventually reciprocity of trade;" and he placed an offer of reciprocity in certain natural products on the statute book. The stimulus of high duties coupled with the colossal outlay for railways gave a temporary fillip to the country, but the inevitable headache succeeded the debauch and in 1891 Sir John, afraid to conjure any longer with the N. P. alone, went to the polls with the cry that he was going to try to obtain a renewal of the reciprocity of 1854. Sir Charles Tupper had previously made some kind of a trade offer to Secretary Bayard.

This brief outline of events shows that when they do not sophisticate themselves with colonial jingoism, Canadians on both sides of politics realize that their true policy is to look to the United States and its market. No dissociating ocean rolls between the two countries. Nothing but an imaginary line separates them; they can converse by telephone; you leave Toronto at noon and are as far south as Washington or as far west as Chicago for breakfast. It is estimated that the annual value of the internal trade of the United States, the trade within each and between all of the forty-four commonwealths, amounts to no less than thirty-five thousand million dollars. It is no wonder that Canada should strive without ceasing to be allowed to fill her rivulet from that vast stream. When the customs bars were removed in 1854 so far as to permit the free interchange of natural products, trade advanced with a bound. The Year Book for 1886 gives interesting statistics on the subject[a] and sums them up thus: "During the twelve years taken as comprising the whole period of the treaty, the total imports (of Canada from the United

(a) See Appendix.

States) averaged $29,141,962, the exports $26,328,559 and the total trade $55,470,521 per annum; and comparing these figures with those of the period from 1850 to 1854 there was an increase in the average annual trade of 122 per cent." The anti-slavery war which raged from 1861 to 1865 must have created an exceptionally brisk demand for Canadian products; on the other hand, the war bounties attracted thousands of Canadians to the American armies and so reduced the producing power of the country. All agree, however, that the treaty was beneficial in the highest degree to the British provinces though it was far from placing them in the position of a State of the Union, which enjoys free trade in its entirety with all the other States. A report of a committee of the Canadian Privy Council (Feb. 19th, 1864, in Sessional Papers of 1865) which was intended to rouse the British Government to do something to prevent the abrogation of the treaty, began as follows:

"It would be impossible to express in figures with any approach to accuracy the extent to which the facilities of commercial intercourse created by the Reciprocity Treaty have contributed to the wealth and prosperity of this province; and it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance which the people of Canada attach to the continued enjoyment of these facilities. Nor is the subject entirely devoid of political significance. Under the beneficent operations of self-government which the later policy of the Mother Country has accorded to Canada in common with the other colonies possessing representative institutions, combined with the advantages secured by the Reciprocity Treaty of an unrestricted commerce with our nearest neighbors in the natural productions of the two countries, all agitation for organic changes has ceased, all dissatisfaction with the existing political relations of the province has wholly disappeared."

The concluding words referred to the melting away of the annexation movement amid the prosperity flowing from reciprocity. The report went on to speak of "the connection which is usually found to exist between the material prosperity and the political contentment of a people," and hinted in diplomatic fashion that if the treaty were not renewed annexation might lift its obscene head again. The Americans complained that we had broken faith with them in increasing the duties on their manufactured goods, (a) but in reality the treaty was abrogated because of the ill-feeling that had arisen between the United States and England. Some Canadians, aping the British aristocracy, had sympathised with

(a) In April, 1864, the committee on commerce of the House of Representatives reported a resolution declaring that "nearly all the articles which Canada has to sell are admitted into the United States free of duty, whilst heavy duties are now imposed upon many of the articles which the people of the United States have to sell with the intention of excluding them from Canada."

slavery but the great majority rejoiced at the triumph of the North. Nevertheless the colony had to suffer for the conduct of England with respect to the Alabama. In like manner, were England to go to war to-morrow with a maritime power like France or Russia over a squabble in which we had no sort of interest, Canadian shipping would undoubtedly have to pay war premiums, which would place us at a disadvantage in sending our products to Europe. To induce the Americans to prolong the treaty, our Government acknowledged that the war taxes bore heavily on the American farmer and agreed to let his wares into Canada free as before whilst Canadian farm products were to pay at the frontier duties equivalent to the American war taxes. This remarkable proposition was made by the British Minister at Washington who privately submitted a schedule of the duties to be levied on Canadian products, to show to what extent Canadians were prepared to contribute to the payment of the United States war debt provided they were allowed to enjoy a semblance of reciprocity. (a) The Canadian proposals of 1869 comprised, besides the use by the Americans for a term of years of our fisheries and canals, which had been one of the conditions of the treaty of 1854, the free exchange of manufactured goods, the virtual assimilation of the customs and excise duties of the two countries, the enlargement of the canals, and the concession of an import duty equal to the internal revenue taxes of the United States. (b) Without further laboring the point, it is obvious that the Conservative leaders of that period set a very high value indeed upon the American market, though evidently not higher than the experience of the country justified.

9.—Projects of Relief.

No one now regards the N. P. as a permanent affair. It was to have diminished the exodus but the exodus has grown at an alarming rate. (c) It was to have augmented the price of farm pro-

(a) The schedule, &c., is in the archives of the State Department at Washington.

(b) See Mr. Brown's Senate speech (1875) on his draft treaty.

(c) One of Sir John Macdonald's N. P. resolutions declared that "such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow countrymen now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home." The census returns tell a different tale. Mr Thomas Coté,

ducts but they are lower than ever before. It was to have brought a lasting prosperity but hard times set in about 1887, have been with us ever since, and show no signs of departing. Toronto was pointed to as a miracle of development but it is now as depressed as the rest of the country. The boom caused by the flocking in of the discouraged rural population and by the employment in building operations of capital which, if the farmers had been prosperous, would have been lent to them, has collapsed and smothered a good many investors in the débris. The depreciation in the value of farm lands throughout Ontario in the past eight or ten years has been fully 30 per cent. In Quebec farms cannot be sold at all. "Under reciprocity," said an old conductor at Point Levis the other day, "our main line and sidings were crowded with car-loads of produce, animals and lumber going to the States, but nowadays we ship mostly men and women." The attempt to sell barley, eggs, hay, and other bulky wares in England has not been successful. If there is any profit left for the farmer after the ocean rate, insurance, breakage and middleman's charges have been defrayed, it is exceedingly small compared with that which he would derive from shipping to a free American market. The traffic in live cattle has been stopped by the British Board of Agriculture and our farmers can hardly compete in dead meat with the Americans because, after all our bonusing, they have to pay higher railroad and ocean rates. Then again the cost of raising well-fed beef is probably higher in Canada than in the States, where there is more corn and less cold weather. It is evident, too, that the Canadian farmer must prepare for a decline in the British demand for foreign cheese and butter. Within a few years two million acres in the United Kingdom have been changed from wheat to dairy land. The British farmer is beginning to see that with his unstable climate and other drawbacks he cannot raise grain successfully in competition with America, Russia, India and Australia. The cost of transportation from those countries used to be a natural protection to him but it has been greatly reduced by modern science.

Ministers themselves feel that something must be done and talk of pruning the N. P. next session. Mr. D'Alton McCarthy recommends free trade with Great Britain with a tariff against

an able Montreal journalist, travelled through a part of Eastern Quebec last fall and published the names of heads of families who had emigrated mostly since the census was taken. In some parishes ten per cent. of the population had gone. In Rimouski there were twelve abandoned farms along a frontage of three miles on a main road. In Kamouraska churches have been closed in consequence of the exodus.

the United States, but does not say how the loss of customs revenue is to be made good or what we are to do if this discrimination should lead the Americans to retaliate by embargoing Canadian exports and shutting out Canadian railroads. The Liberals favor tariff reform which however desirable in itself will not lower the McKinley duties on a single Canadian product. Some of them cling to unrestricted reciprocity, an *alias* for commercial union invented to pacify the weaker brethren, but the majority have been frightened by the Tory cry of treason and now preach tariff reform and reciprocity without discrimination against England, which is nothing more than the Tory platform. Canadian Imperial Federationists cling to the belief that the British democracy will revive the old preferential policy for the benefit of the colonial farmer and be content with a small loaf for his sake, whilst allowing colonial manufacturers as now to exclude British exports. It seems to be taken for granted that the British democracy is a fool. There is a school of Imperial Federationists in England, headed by Mr. Howard Vincent, which advocates the restoration of the preferential policy in its original form, colonial products to be treated better in the British market than foreign products and British manufactures to be treated better in colonial markets than foreign manufactures; but it is unable to get a hearing from either Liberals or Tories. (a)

(a) The English papers of April 18th printed a letter from Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Howard Vincent, who had asked him to receive a deputation from the United Empire Trade League, the League being anxious to have a general council of the empire summoned to discuss "trade relations." Mr. Gladstone's letter was as follows:—

"I clearly understand that the purpose of your desire to confer with me is that you may recommend to the Government a method of trade legislation which would impose differential duties on the importation of foreign commodities into this country. I fear that my seeing a deputation on such a subject would lead to misapprehension and disappointment. It could hardly do less than convey to the public the idea that there might be circumstances under which I might be ready to recommend to my colleagues the adoption of such a plan. But, since I am compelled to regard the plan as unjust to the mass of the community, unfavorable to the industry and enterprise of the country, and subversive of the legislation which it cost us twenty or twenty-five years to accomplish, you will see that with these opinions I am precluded in principle from the discussion of such a plan; and, were I to receive a deputation in its favor, I might be unjustly charged with acting under false pretences and giving encouragement to expectations which I did not mean to fulfil. You will, therefore, I am confident, on these grounds excuse me from receiving the deputation."

In his famous Hastings speech (May 18th, 1892), in which he proposed to put duties on luxuries in order to compel the foreign countries exporting them to lower their tariffs on British goods, Lord Salisbury said:—"The power of which at this moment we have the most reason to complain is the United States, but it so happens that what the United States furnishes us with mainly, not entirely, are articles which are essential to the good of the people and raw materials which are essential to our manufactures, and we cannot exclude one or the other without serious injury to ourselves. You cannot raise the price of food, you cannot raise the price of raw material; but there is an enormous mass of other importations, shipped from other countries than the United States, which are mere matters of luxurious consumption; and if it be a question of wine or silk or spirits or gloves

Another school of English Federationists seeks to establish a uniform policy of free trade throughout the empire, but Canadian protectionists mock at it. Imperial Federation is as old as Harrington's "Oceana" but no one has yet succeeded in constructing a feasible scheme. The adoption of high tariffs by the leading colonies has rendered the job all the more difficult. It is clear that the quixotic notion of drawing on the colonies for men and money to carry on imperial wars must be given up.

The fatal objection from the British point of view to a revival of the preferential system is that it would exalt the price of food and raw materials to the British manufacturer and artisan and strike a blow at England's foreign trade, which is much more valuable than her trade with the colonies. The "Book of Commerce" for 1892, an English publication compiled from the blue-books, shows that for the five years 1886-90 England's imports from foreign countries averaged 77.1 per cent of her total imports whilst her imports from the colonies averaged 22.9 per cent. Her exports to foreign countries amounted to 70.5 per cent of her whole export trade and her exports to the colonies to 29.5. It is not true, as often alleged, that her trade with the colonies is advancing very much faster than her trade with foreign countries. For the five years 1856-60 her imports from and exports to foreign countries averaged 77.5 and 71.1 per cent respectively of her total import and export trade; and her imports from and exports to the colonies 22.5 and 28.9 respectively.

Such in brief are the devices for enabling Canada to live a while longer in a state of divorce from the continent to which she belongs. Every intelligent Canadian feels in his heart when he looks at the debt on one side and at the census and other evidences of torpor on the other that our fight against nature is as hopeless as the old battles of men against the gods—that to prolong it is simply to augment our burdens and render us poorer and poorer by comparison with our mighty neighbor. The politicians are endeavoring to keep the people quiet by telling them that a Democratic President and Congress will repeal the farm schedule of the McKinley bill as well as the duties on iron, coal, lumber and fish. Even the Jingoes amongst them allow that our future largely depends on the next four years' legislation at Washington. But there is no warrant for saying that the Democrats are again in favor of granting us liberal access to the

or lace or anything of that kind I should not shrink from diminishing the consumption for the purpose of insisting on our access to the markets of our neighbors." If the Conservative leader would not tax American food-stuffs and raw material his policy would be of no use to us in Canada.

American market. It will take Congress a long time to revise the manufacturing schedule and though the coal, iron and lumber duties may be reduced nobody at Washington seems to care whether the farm schedule is touched or not. Most Americans like most Canadians believe that our farmers pay the duty. Their farmers in the border States are certainly not clamoring for a change. But suppose Congress should make a clean sweep of protection and go in for a revenue tariff, who could guarantee the permanence of such a state of things? Supposing, however, that it should be accepted by the Republicans as a finality, what would our condition be? The Finance Minister has declared that the necessities of the revenue render a large reduction of the N. P. impossible. In his West Durham letter Mr. Blake said the same thing. The N. P. might be greatly improved by the elimination of "defects, anomalies and oppressions," and a substantial retrenchment of the expenditure might be made, but "the result of our policy for the last thirteen years is that we shall be compelled for an indefinite time to raise the bulk of an enormous revenue by high duties on imports." Every serious politician knows that direct taxation for Federal purposes would not be tolerated.(a) A Liberal paper said recently that the Liberal party could reduce the expenditure so much that a low tariff would suffice for our revenue needs. The fact is, as Sir Richard Cartwright has pointed out, about 75 per cent. of the expenditure is absorbed by charges that are uncontrollable(b) so that the margin for economising is very narrow. Assuming, then, that we shall be obliged for an indefinite period to maintain high import duties, how should we fare if the Americans reduced theirs to a revenue basis? Sir Alexander Galt warned us five and twenty years ago, when such an eventuality was deemed impossible, that the day of wrath for Canada would begin when the United States should have a lower tariff and a smaller debt, should be in short a cheaper country to live in; and anybody can see that our position would be just as critical as it is now.

(a) In Quebec the people are paying two sets of direct taxes already, one for provincial, the other for clerical purposes. Mr. Blake said in his letter:—"Direct taxation, even in its most promising form, a succession tax, is, I regret to say, at present out of the question."

(b) The ordinary expenditure in 1891-92 was $36,800,000. Here are items in which no material reduction could be made:—

Public Debt—Interest, Sinking Fund, etc.	$12,000,000
Subsidies to Provinces	4,000,000
Charges for Collection of Revenue	9,400,000
Indians	900,000
	$26,300,000

10.—Continental Union.

It is not pretended that Continental Union would cure all the ills from which the community is suffering. It would not, for example, do away with agricultural depression but it would alleviate it by giving the Canadian farmer an immense market at his own door and enabling him to buy cheaper store goods. To buy thriftily is just as important as to sell profitably—a penny saved is a penny gained. Many of the fundamental articles that enter into his economy, *e. g.*, iron and steel, implements, coal oil, binding twine, barbed wire, nails, cotton and other textiles, are cheaper in the United States than in Canada. About the only commodities now smuggled from Canada to the States are opium and Chinamen, neither of them home products. Even with a higher tariff the Americans can manufacture more cheaply as a rule than we can by reason of the greater size of their market which permits of the specialisation of labor and machinery. The farmer would likewise profit along with the rest of us by the letting loose of the imprisoned forces of nature. The development of Canadian mines alone would ensure him a better home market. It can be said without fear of contradiction that Continental Union would confer the following amongst other benefits upon us all :—

It would make us citizens of a free country containing the larger half of the English-speaking race. At present we are the only five millions of white men on the globe content to be mere colonists.(a) The fact that our future was assured would of itself strengthen the Canadian character and imbue us with greater confidence in ourselves and our undertakings.

It would lighten our burdens. The United States would undoubtedly assume the Provincial as well as the Dominion debt.

As States of the Union we should enjoy free trade with the whole continent from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, with its variety of climates and products, and get the benefit of the commercial treaties existing between the United States and other countries in this hemisphere. In a word, we should be fighting with nature instead of against her.

Each province as a State would enjoy complete autonomy in

(a) Mr. Blake said at Aurora that we were "five millions of Britons not free." We cannot legislate as we see fit on copyright, naturalisation, extradition and other important matters nor make commercial treaties of our own. A democratic people, we have no voice in the appointment our chief ruler or even in that of the commander of the volunteers.

local affairs. Ontario would no longer be a milch cow for others. We should get rid of the treaty obligations imposed by England and France in 1763 as well as of the restraints imposed by the Confederation Act. In short, each province would start with a clean slate and have the power to legislate as it pleased upon all matters affecting the religious, educational and social life of its inhabitants. We could appoint our judges and other officers for life as now; no province need establish a divorce court; there would be no veto except by a governor elected by ourselves and indirectly by the courts, and at all times we should be at liberty to amend the State constitution. The friction caused by dualism in race and language would cease at once. There would soon be but one tongue, and that the English tongue, from the St. Lawrence to the Rio Grande.

It would bring a rush of American capital and enterprise. The older provinces would profit by the natural facilities for manufacturing which they possess. With the increase in wealth and population the value of real estate would be augmented. If some of our tariff-born, tariff-bred and tariff-fed industries should be overborne by manufactures carried on with the new capital, the derangement would be trifling compared with the general gain.

The North-West would begin to fill up. It would no longer be shunned by emigrants from the European continent who, having fled from militarism and other Old World evils, do not care to settle in the colony of an Old World kingdom.

The minerals of Canada would have a market and would therefore be developed. The production in 1891 was valued at $20,400,000. The mineral production in the United States that year was valued at $666,000,000. The free British market is of little worth to the Canadian miner; of our exports of minerals 80 per cent. goes to the United States notwithstanding the customs duties.(a)

(a) The royal commission on mining appointed by the Ontario Government says in its report (1890) on the iron deposits in this province :—"Great deposits of ore can be reached by rail and laid down cheaply at Lake Ontario ports. The cost of transportation from the mines to Cleveland, Ashtabula or Pittsburg is not greater, and in some cases is slightly less, than from the mines of Northern Wisconsin and Michigan to the same points. Millions of dollars worth of iron ore could be placed in the American markets annually, and apparently the only thing that stands in the way of the development of a great and profitable trade with the United States is the American duty." The commission was of opinion that charcoal iron could be produced as cheaply in Ontario as in Michigan, which manufactured 180,000 tons in 1887, the outlay for labor being over two million dollars. Speaking of the effect of free trade with the States on the mining industries in general of Ontario the commission said :—"The favorable results can scarcely be estimated and would beyond doubt far exceed popular anticipation;" and again :—"More than one-half of our mining capital is now American but it represents only a small fraction of the amount that would speedily

The lake shipping of Ontario, now moribund, would be revived and the seaboards of British Columbia, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces made the most of. The great lakes on the American side have splendid fleets. The tonnage which goes through the American canal at the Sault is greater than that which goes through the Suez Canal. A few years ago eight per cent of it was Canadian, now only four per cent. What Swift said of the harbors of Ireland is almost true of the magnificent inland waterways of Canada, that "the conveniency which nature has bestowed is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man in a dungeon." (a)

It would lead to the improvement of the St. Lawrence route. The Americans will shortly have a 21-foot channel from Buffalo to Duluth and talk of building a canal at a cost of $500,000,000 through their own territory to the Hudson River, which would deprive Montreal of much of its business. To deepen the Welland canal and the canals below Kingston to 21 feet would cost, it is said, $200,000,000. The Dominion Government could not raise such a sum but to the Government of the United States it would be a mere bagatelle. A 21-foot channel from Port Arthur and Duluth would afford passage for vessels drawing 19½ feet, and it is asserted by shipowners that wheat could then be carried from those points to Liverpool for ten or twelve cents per bushel. The effect of this water rate would be to greatly reduce rail rates and make farming in the North-West and elsewhere more profitable.

Lastly, Continental Union would ensure the peace and happiness of North America and might pave the way for an alliance of the whole English race not by any political machinery but by virtue of the common tongue, the common literature and our common faith. What have we to do with George the Third and Lord North? Why should we as sane men keep alive to our own infinite injury the hatreds and schisms of that time?

We do not serve the dead—the past is past;
God lives, and lifts His glorious mornings up
Before the eyes of men, awake at last,
Who put away the meats they used to sup.

We are told that by entering the Union freely and on honor-

seek investment in Ontario if the two countries were commercially one." The tariff adopted in 1887 at the instance of Sir Charles Tupper has done nothing but exalt the cost of iron and steel. In 1890 there were four furnaces in blast in the Dominion and the output of pig iron was 24,000 tons, or less than in 1884. In 1890 the output of pig iron in the United States rose to 9,200,000 tons.

(a) See Appendix.

able terms we shall be making over our country to a "foreign power." It is truly surprising that men of sense should talk in that strain. Did Scotland when she entered into a union with England transfer her country? Does an American State which enters the Union transfer its territory? Does a trader on entering into partnership transfer his estate? We should keep everything we have, only with a value enhanced by the union. The "nationality" which it is said we should forfeit is now not ours. We are at present not a nation but a dependency without a recognized place among the nations, without the power of negotiating with other countries except by sufferance, without the power even of amending our constitution, which has been enacted for us by the Parliament of Great Britain. Nor is there much hope of our ever becoming a united nation with the French province in the midst of us. To think that we shall acquire national spirit by remaining a dependency is as idle as it is to imagine that under the present system we shall grow strong enough to be a match for the United States. Let us enter the Union, and Ontario will be a member, and no mean member, of that which will soon be the greatest nation that ever existed in the world.

APPENDIX.

The Movement of 1849.

The Political Union movement of 1849 took rise in consequence of the adoption in 1846 of free trade by England, whereby the system of giving preferential treatment to colonial products in the British market was abolished, and of the repeated failure of the British Government to obtain for us a reciprocity treaty with the United States. Trade and commerce throughout the colony were greatly depressed. A manifesto was signed by leading Liberals and leading Tories and by prominent merchants of Montreal. The manifesto spoke of the prevailing depression, of the backwardness of Canada as compared with the United States, of the heavy public debt and excessive cost of government, of the evils arising from the colonial state which everybody regarded as a transitional state and which offered nothing fixed or permanent, and so on. It went on to discuss reciprocity, which, though desirable, would "yield but an instalment of the advantages that might otherwise be secured"; declared that Canada could not exist as an independent republic since independence would not open the North American continent to Canadian products nor give permanence and stability to the institutions of the country; and proceeded thus:—

"Of all the remedies which have been suggested for the acknowledged and insufferable ills with which our country is afflicted, there remains but one to be considered. It propounds a sweeping and important change in our political and social condition, involving considerations which demand our most serious examination. This remedy consists in a friendly and peaceful separation from British connection and a union upon equitable terms with the great North American Confederation of Sovereign States.

"We would premise that towards Great Britain we entertain none other than sentiments of kindness and respect. Without her consent we consider separation as neither practicable nor desirable. That it is the resolve of England to invest us with the attributes and compel us to assume the burdens of independence is no longer problematical; the threatened withdrawal of her troops from other colonies, the continuance of her military protection to ourselves only on the condition that we shall defray the attendant expenditure, betoken intentions towards our country against which it is weakness in us not to provide. An overruling conviction then of its necessity and a high sense of the duty we owe to our country, a duty we can neither disregard nor postpone, impel us to entertain the idea of separation; but whatever negotiations may eventuate with Great Britain a grateful liberality on the part of Canada should mark every proceeding.

"The proposed union would render Canada a field for American capital into which it would enter as freely for the prosecution of public works and

private enterprises as in any of the present States. It would equalise the value of real estate upon both sides of the boundary, thereby probably doubling at once the entire present value of property in Canada, whilst, by giving stability to our institutions and introducing prosperity, it would raise our public, corporate and private credit.

"It would increase our commerce both with the United States and foreign countries, and would not necessarily diminish to any great extent our intercourse with Great Britain, which our products would, for the most part, enter on the same terms as now. It would render our rivers and canals the highway for the immigration to and for the exports from the West to the incalculable benefit of our country.

"It would also introduce manufactures, and to Lower Canada especially, where water powers are abundant and cheap, it would attract manufacturing capital, enhancing the value of property and agricultural produce and giving remunerative employment to what is at present a non-producing population. Nor would the United States merely furnish the capital for our manufactures. They would also supply them with the most extensive market in the world without the intervention of a customs officer. Railways would forthwith be constructed by American capital as feeders for all the great lines now approaching our frontiers, and railway enterprise in general would doubtless be as active and prosperous as amongst our neighbors.

"The value of our agricultural products would be raised at once to a par with that of the United States whilst agricultural implements and many of the necessaries of life such as tea, coffee and sugar would be greatly reduced in price. The value of our timber would also be greatly enhanced by free access to the American market, where it bears a high price but is subject to an onerous duty. At the same time there is every reason to believe that ship-builders, as well at Quebec as on the great lakes, would find an unlimited market in all parts of the American continent.

"The simple and economical State government in which direct responsibility to the people is a distinguished feature, would be substituted for a system at once cumbrous and expensive.

"In the place of war and the alarms of war with a neighbor there would be peace and amity. Disagreements between the United States and her chief if not only rival among nations would not make the soil of Canada the sanguinary arena for their settlement, as under our existing relations must necessarily be the case. That such is the unenviable condition of our state of dependence upon Great Britain is known to the whole world, and how far it may conduce to keep prudent capitalists from making investments in the country, or wealthy settlers from selecting a foredoomed battle-field for the home of themselves and their children, it needs no reasoning on our part to elucidate.

"But other advantages than those bearing on our material interests may be foretold. It would change the ground of political contest between races and parties, allay and obliterate those irritations and conflicts of rancor and recrimination which have hitherto disturbed our social fabric. Changing a subordinate for an independent condition, we would take our station among the nations of the earth. We have now no voice in the affairs of the empire nor do we share in its honors or emoluments. England is our parent state with whom we have no equality, but towards whom we stand in the simple relation of obedience. But, as citizens of the United States the public service of the nation would be open to us—a field of high and honorable distinction on which we and our posterity might enter on terms of perfect equality."

Much that was said then is as true and as pertinent now. The United States of that period had a population of twenty-three millions. The movement was killed by the Reciprocity treaty of 1854, which let in a flood of prosperity. When the treaty was abrogated in 1866, Confederation was on the boards and great things were expected of it. The huge expenditure since has given the country the appearance of prosperity, but we have reached the end of our tether as large borrowers, and Political Union is once more a burning question. Sir Oliver Mowat congratulated himself and his followers the other day on the fact that the present movement had not attracted any notable politicians in this province. Hitherto he and his fellow-reactionaries at Ottawa have contrived by dismissals, by onslaughts in their party newspapers and otherwise to terrorize the politicians known to favor Political Union. To quote a phrase from J. S. Mill's essay on Liberty, which Sir Oliver might read with profit, there exists in Ontario "a state of things in which a large portion of the most active and inquiring intellects find it advisable to keep the general principles and grounds of their convictions within their own breasts, and attempt, in what they address to the public, to fit as much as they can of their own conclusions to premises which they have internally renounced." But that is passing away. Public men in Quebec are no longer afraid to speak their minds, and those in Ontario are taking heart. Everyone knows that the people are more advanced than the politicians.

The Reciprocity of 1854.

Under the Reciprocity treaty of 1854-66 the free exchange of the following articles was allowed:—

Grain, flour and other breadstuffs.	Fish and fish products.
Animals of all kinds.	Fresh, smoked, and salted meats.
Eggs and poultry.	Fruits, dried and undried.
Stone and marble unwrought.	Hides and furs.
Slate.	Butter, cheese and tallow.
Lard, horns, manures.	Ores of all kinds.
Coal.	Turpentine, ashes, pitch, tar.
Timber and lumber, unmanufactured.	Firewood.
	Gypsum, dye-stuffs.
Wool and pelts.	Flax, hemp and tow.
Rice, broom-corn, bark.	Rags.
Grindstones.	Unmanufactured tobacco.
Seeds and vegetables.	Cotton Wool.

The trade of Upper and Lower Canada, then united under one government, with the United States rose from $24,000,000 in 1854 to $41,000,000 in 1856. There was a slight decline after that, but in 1863 the trade came to $43,000,000 and in 1866, the last year of the treaty, to $55,000,000. The trade of the other provinces with the States

flourished in like manner. The only complaint against the treaty from Canada was that it did not go far enough,—that it did not admit Canadian vessels to the American coasting trade.

The McKinley Tariff.

The following list gives the customs duties levied on leading Ontario products by the McKinley tariff of 1890, now in force, together with the duties levied by the previous United States tariff, that of 1883:—

	1883.	*McKinley.*
Barley, per bush	10 cents	30 cents.
Eggs	Free.	per doz. 05 cents.
Horses, valued under $150	20 per cent. *ad val.*	per head $30 00
Horses, valued at $150 and over	do	30 per cent.
Cattle, over a year old	do	per head $10 00
Cattle, a year old or less	do	do $2 00
Sheep, one year old or more	do	do $1 50
Sheep, less than a year old	do	do 75
Hogs	do	do 1 50
Butter, per lb	04 cents.	06 cents.
Beans	10 per cent. *ad val.*	per bush. 40 "
Hay, per ton	$2 00	$4 00
Hops, per pound	08 cents.	15 cents.
Potatoes, per bush	15 "	25 "
Apples, green or ripe	Free.	25 "
Poultry, live	10 per cent. *ad. val.*	per pound 03 "
do dressed	do	do 05 "
Onions	do	per bush. 40 "
Ties and telegraph poles of cedar	Free.	20 per cent. *ad. val.*
Sawn pine lumber, per thousand	$2 00	$1 00
Iron ore, per ton	75 cents.	75
Wool, Canada long or combing, per lb	10 to 11 cents.	12 cents.
Flax, not hackled or dressed, per ton	$20 00	$20 00
Barley malt, per bush.	20 cents.	45 cents.
Peas	10 per cent. *ad val.*	per bush. 40 "

United States Reciprocity Treaties.

Under section 3 of the McKinley act reciprocity treaties have been entered into by a number of cane and beet sugar-producing countries with the United States. That section empowered the President to impose duties on sugar, coffee and hides coming from countries which did not make concessions to American exports. The treaties with countries in this hemisphere are as follows, but the list of enumerated articles is too long to be given in full:

With Brazil:—American wheat, flour, buckwheat, rye, corn, barley, potatoes, pork, fish, farm implements, etc., are admitted free. Lard, hams, butter, cheese, lumber and a variety of manufactured goods are admitted at 25 per cent. reduction of the duties levied on similar commodities coming from countries other than the United States.

With San Domingo:—American corn, oats, hay, lumber and various manufactures are admitted free; butter, cheese, fish, meats and various manufactures under a 25 per cent. reduction.

With Salvador:—American corn, barley, rye, beans, hay, implements and other manufactures are free.

With Nicaragua:—American wheat, beans, potatoes, hay, lumber and various manufactures are free.

With Honduras:—American corn, beans, hay and various manufactures are free,

With Guatemala:—American hay, potatoes, beans, peas, barley lumber and various manufactures are free.

With Cuba and Porto Rico (colonies of Spain):—American meats, lard, fish, oats, rye, hay, butter, and various manufactures are free. American manufactures of iron and steel, furniture, rubber goods, etc., are admitted at a 50 per cent. reduction of the regular duties. Other American goods are admitted at a 25 per cent. reduction. American wheat, flour, potatoes and corn are admitted under favorable specified rates.

With the British West Indies:—Certain American farm products, woods and manufactures are admitted under more favorable terms than before. There is no open discrimination as in the case of all or most of the other treaties against Canada, but the tariffs of the islands and of British Guiana are so adjusted that the American exporter has a decided advantage over the Canadian. The Jamaicans are about to establish a subsidised steamship line of their own running to New York. The following resolution proposed April 24 in the legislature by Mr. George Solomon was accepted by the Government of the colony:—

"That the present low rate of speed in carrying mails, passengers, merchandise and fruit to New York is calculated to injure the general commerce of the island by limiting its export of fruit and delaying its correspondence, and is fatal to all attempts to make it a general winter resort for visitors from

the United States; that with a view to removing these obstacles the Government invite tenders to be received not earlier than the 1st of November next for a fortnightly service for five years from Kingston and other ports of the island to New York; that $50,000 per annum be allowed as a subsidy during the period of contract; the steamers to be well found and of not less than 2,500 tons, to perform the voyage in four days and to have first-class accommodation for 100 passengers, the maximum rates of freights and passage to be fixed in accordance with a schedule to be arranged by the Government."

Mr. Solomon in speaking to his resolution said that at present the voyage from Jamaica to New York takes six or seven days. The island did not get full value for the large subsidy it paid to the Royal Mail Company for the conveyance of mails from Jamaica to England. With a quick service of four days to New York, letters from Jamaica would reach England in eleven days, whereas the Royal Mail Co. took sixteen or seventeen days to reach England. He was positive that it was to the advantage of Jamaica to be drawn closer to the United States. The leader of the Government pledged it to do all it could to establish a fast line to New York.

The United States has also obtained important tariff concessions from Germany, Austria-Hungary and France.

Political Union would of course give Canada the same advantage in all these markets as the United States now enjoys. We have been trying for years to extend our markets but are unable to make reciprocity treaties on this continent simply because we have no market to offer in return to the foreigner comparable with the immense market he can get through reciprocity with our neighbors; witness the failure of Mr. Foster's attempt to obtain a reciprocity from the British West Indies, which a few weeks afterwards formed one with the United States. Furthermore, Britain sometimes compromises us by granting to foreign nations with which she has commercial treaties favored-nation clauses binding upon us. Conversely, she sometimes excludes us from the operation of her commercial treaties with foreign nations, and so in a manner discriminates against us. Yet it is said we cannot discriminate in our own interest against her without being disloyal. It is a poor rule that does not work both ways.

The Census of 1891.

The population of the provinces now forming the Dominion was estimated at 240,000 in 1800. It has increased as follows in the last thirty years:

1861	3,090,000
1871	3,635,000
1881	4,325,000
1891	4,833,000

The figures down to 1861 were little better than estimates. Those for 1871 were not accurate, for the figures for Manitoba and British

Columbia were based upon a census taken in 1870, while the population of the Territories was guessed at. The Dominion as now constituted was not completed until the entrance of Prince Edward Island in 1873. Between 1871 and 1881 the percentage of increase was 18.97; between 1881 and 1891 the percentage was 11.74. That of England and Wales in the latter decade was 11.65, that of the United States 24.85. Dualism is the curse of Canada. In 1891 the division of the two chief races was as follows:

	Per cent. of Total Population.
French-speaking	29.4
English-speaking and all others	70.6
	100

The distribution of the principal religious denominations was as follows:

	Per cent. of Total Population.
Roman Catholics	41.43
Methodists	17.11
Presbyterians	15.64
Church of England	13.35
Baptists	6.86
All others	5.61
	100

In Ontario and Quebec, which contain three-fourths of the entire population, the constitution provides in effect that Protestant and Catholic children shall be educated apart. In like manner it provides against the fusion of the two chief races. In race, language, religion, civil laws and local institutions French Canada is a community within the community as indigestible as a cannon ball. Those who talk of building up a "united Canada" ignore the utter impossibility of the task under existing circumstances.

The U. S. Census of 1890.

The first census of the United States was taken in 1790. The figures for that and for subsequent censuses are as follows:—

Year.	Population.	Percentage of Increase.
1790	3,929,000	
1800	5,308,000	35.10.
1810	7,240,000	36.38.
1820	9,634,000	33.07.
1830	12,866,000	33.55.
1840	17,069,000	32.67.

Year.	Population.	Percentage of Increase.
1850	23,192,000	35.87.
1860	31,443,000	35.58.
1870	38,558,000	22.63.
1880	50,156,000	30.08.
1890	62,622,000	24.85.

The percentage of increase in the last twenty years has been 63. In the Dominion it has been 33. Of the progress of settlement in the United States, Francis A. Walker, the economist and statistician, writes (*Forum*, June, 1891):—"The people of 1790 were found wholly in a narrow tract along the Atlantic shore, except where adventurous colonists, to the number of perhaps 200,000, had taken up lands amid primeval forests in the valley of the Ohio. The total inhabited area of those days may be roughly given as a quarter of a million square miles. To-day nearly a millon and three-quarter square miles are more or less densely covered by population. * * The moral and physical energy and courage, the intellectual activity and enterprise exhibited by the American people in thus over-running and occupying, settling and cultivating a million and a half of square miles in the course of a single century, is absolutely unparalleled in the history of mankind. Think what it means—an average each year of 15,000 square miles, a territory larger than Holland, nearly as large as Switzerland with its barren mountains; for each ten years a territory as large as Great Britain and Ireland combined entered upon, taken up and annexed to the previously occupied and cultivated area."

Unlike those of Canada, the institutions of the United States produce a people of but one tongue. The various European races are put into the hopper and come out Americans speaking the English language and filled with the national spirit. The evolution of a new race, the American race, is going on.

Savings Bank Deposits.

Lord Stanley in a recent tour dwelt on the growth of bank deposits as evidence of a wide-spread prosperity. It is held by many good authorities that an increase in bank deposits goes to show, not that a country is highly prosperous but that the opportunities and avenues for investment in trade, industry and speculation have been diminished through a decline of prosperity. In Canada there was a boom in Government saving bank deposits for a time because the Government paid a higher rate of interest on the money which it thus borrowed than was paid by the chartered banks. The rate was reduced from 4 to 3½ per cent. in 1889. The Year Book says "the total amount of money on deposit in June, 1891, in the chartered banks, post office and Government savings banks, Montreal and Quebec savings banks, and in the hands of loan companies was $218,000,000, or $45 per head of the

population." It is impossible to make an accurate comparison with the deposits in the United States. The Statistical Abstract of the U. S. for 1892 gives the deposits in the national banks as $1,800,000,000 and those in the savings banks as $1,700,000,000; but nothing is said of the deposits in State banks, State loan companies, etc. From official figures printed in the *New York Commercial and Financial Chronicle* in its supplement for 1892, we learn that Massachusetts has deposits to the amount of over $600,000,000 in her national banks (she has no State banks), savings banks and trust and loan companies. The deposits in the savings banks alone are $370,000,000. Of course Massachusetts is an exceptionally wealthy State. Her population is less than half that of the Dominion. In Connecticut the deposits in national banks in 1891 were $34,000,000, in State banks $4,000,000, in trust and loan companies $4,000,000, in savings banks $123,000,000; a total of $165,000,000 for a population of 746,000, or $220 per head. The United States possesses far greater wealth per head than Canada, and its wealth is increasing much more rapidly. Let an Ontario man travel from Montreal eastward to Cape Breton and he will discover that he is hitched to a region rich by nature but mighty poor by policy. Putting the economic value of each Canadian who crosses the line at only the price of a good slave, the amount we lose every year by the exodus is astounding.

Canadian Shipping.

The Year Book gives the tonnage on the Canadian register from 1873 to 1891, as follows:

	Tonnage.		Tonnage.
1873	1,073,000	1883	1,276,000
1874	1,158,000	1884	1,254,000
1875	1,206,000	1885	1,232,000
1876	1,261,000	1886	1,218,000
1877	1,310,000	1887	1,130,000
1878	1,333,000	1888	1,090,000
1879	1,332,000	1889	1,040,000
1880	1,311,000	1890	1,025,000
1881	1,311,000	1891	1,005,000
1882	1,261,000		

The decline is due principally to the substitution of iron and steel for wooden vessels. The same cause has affected ship-building in the United States. The high tariffs in both countries have doubtless had something to do with the decline. In the States, ocean shipping suffered severely during the war from the Southern cruisers built in England. The United States register shows a total tonnage of 4,685,000 in 1891, or greater than at any time since 1875. The American lake marine is in a very flourishing condition. In 1891 no less than 112,000 tons of new shipping were built on the lakes. In the same

year only 17,000 tons were built in all Canada outside of Nova Scotia, which built 36,000 tons for her ocean and coasting trade. In Ontario and Quebec which monopolise the Canadian traffic on the great lakes, the new tonnage in 1891 was only 6,800. Canadian vessel-owners on the lakes are greatly handicapped by the American law preventing them from carrying a cargo from one American port to another American port.

The Dominion Debt.

The Dominion expenditure in 1871 when we had a population of 3,600,000 was $15,600,000. It has mounted up rapidly; in 1891 when the population was 4,800,000 it was $36,000,000. The net debt has also increased very much faster than population. Here are a few figures:—

1871	$ 78,000,000	1883	$158,000,000
1874	108,000,000	1886	223,000,000
1877	133,000,000	1889	237,000,000
1880	152,000,000	1892	241,000,000

The following table shows the rapid reduction of the net Federal debt of the United States:—

1871	$2,250,000,000	1883	$1,500,000,000
1874	2,100,000,000	1886	1,300,000,000
1877	2,000,000,000	1889	975,000,000
1880	1,900,000,000	1892	841,500,000

Between 1870 and 1890 the population of the United States increased from 38,560,000 to 62,620,000. Certain members of Parliament and newspapers shrink, as well they may, from comparing our debt with that of the United States, and rush off into comparisons with the debts of the Australian colonies If the Australians owed a hundred fold more per head that would not alter the fact that we must submit to be judged not by their standard but by that of our immediate neighbors. There are 215 Federal constituencies, so that each owes $1,120,000. It is estimated that on public and private account we owe Britain $750,000,000. A great deal of it yields no return to the British investor and is not likely to yield any until the condition of the country is improved by Continental Union.

Immigrants from the United States.

Government officials employed at immigration work report that settlers are leaving Dakota for Manitoba and the Territories. It is to be hoped they are not exaggerating. They have made some sad blunders in estimating the number of emigrants from other countries who have entered that region. In a speech in the House, March 5th, 1889, Sir Richard Cartwright said: "We had numerous disputes three or four

years ago as to the population of the North-West Territories and Manitoba. In 1885 and 1886 special censuses were taken there. The reports of the Department showed by most positive statements for the years 1881-6 that 166,803 settlers had gone to Manitoba and the North-West, though when the census was taken there were only 118,000 whites found in all that country. According to the census of 1881, and allowing for natural increase, we should have had 74,000 without one single immigrant. Deduct that from 118,000 and you have this remarkable result: The Department asserted that 166,803 had settled in that country whereas only 44,000 of the new-comers could be found; the remaining 122,000 had vanished into thinnest air." In 1890, the Government decided to pay a bonus of $10 to each head of a family and $5 to each member over 12 settling in the North-West, and an additional bonus of $10 to each member who within six months of sailing becomes a settler there. Perhaps this inducement has had something to do with the alleged movement from Dakota. It is a regrettable fact, however, that we lose more people in a month from French Canada alone than we are ever likely to get from Dakota in a twelvemonth.

Mr. Carling used to argue that the United States was nearly filled up and that we were therefore bound to get a steadily increasing share of the emigration from Europe. The census returns do not bear out that view. The Federal lands adapted for homesteading are becoming exhausted in the United States, but there are still enormous tracts of good railway and State lands unsettled. Texas, for instance, with an area of 266,000 square miles has millions of acres of State lands awaiting the settler. It will be many a long day before the United States is filled up. Excluding Alaska, the population per square mile in 1890 was only 21. The population per square mile in Scotland in 1891 was 135, in England and Wales 498, in Belgium 539, in France 187.

The total emigration of persons of British and Irish origin from the United Kingdom from 1853 to 1891 was 7,300,000, of whom 4,900,000 or nearly 70 per cent. went to the United States. The remainder went to Canada, Australia, the Cape, &c.

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